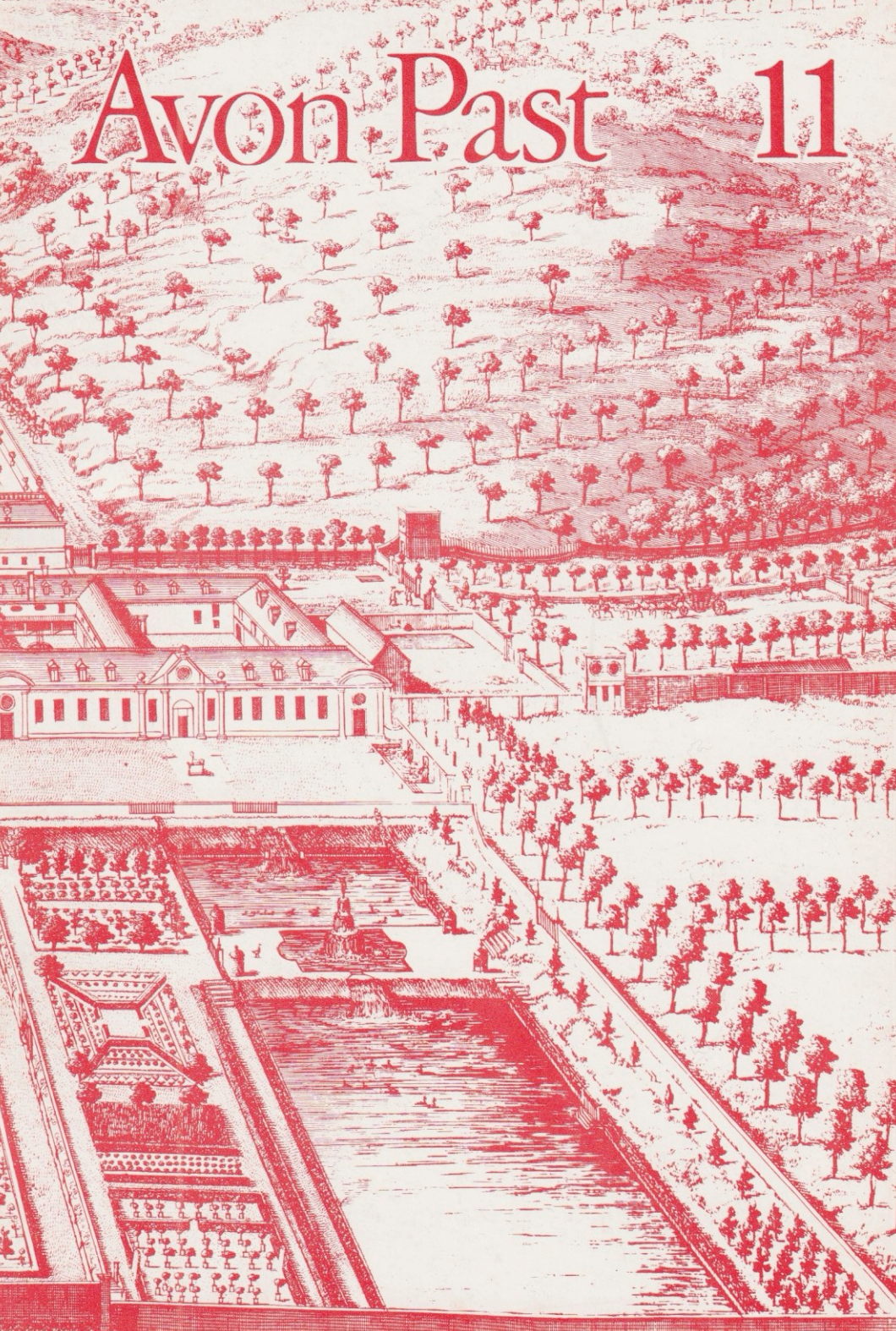


Avon Past 11



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COVER ILLUSTRATION

Kip's View of Dyrham, 1712. Copy loaned by B. Boyd, Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery.

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Avon Past

the joint journal of
AVON ARCHAEOLOGICAL COUNCIL
and **AVON LOCAL HISTORY ASSOCIATION**

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EDITORIAL

It is with much sadness and a deep sense of loss that we wished farewell in March 1985, to the Western Archaeological Trust. Since its birth in 1973 as a sub-committee of the Council for British Archaeology (Group XIII), through its metamorphosis to the independent Committee for Rescue Archaeology in Avon, Gloucestershire and Somerset Ltd., in 1979, to the final change of name to Western Archaeological Trust in 1982, the organisation and its diversely talented team have dealt not only with major excavations, but also with the composition of an important archive for the region, with watching briefs over three counties, and with surveys, both rural and urban.

Besides surveys of Gloucestershire long barrows, Exmoor field systems, Somerset's historic towns, and the towns of Tewkesbury, Ilchester and Wells, excavations covered sites at Hazelton (long barrow), Stoke Orchard, Cow Common, Stogursey (castle), Uley (Roman temple), Taunton Priory, Glastonbury Abbey, Westlands Roman Villa, Catsgore (Roman settlement), Lower Court Farm (medieval settlement) in Long Ashton and Birdlip by-pass. So many projects, from the first excavation of a Roman site at Cattybrook, Almondsbury, have been achieved, that I can only begin to list a few. The last, and largest of all, was Gloucester, including sites at the castle, outside the Roman south gate and the Roman cemetery to the north of the city. Many and varied publications have also been produced over the years that record their labours. The members of W.A.T. recognised its inherent weakness from the start, and were very much aware of the danger of relying on a single source for its financing; on several occasions during its lifetime, they had budget cuts foisted on them (fortunately without quite such unfortunate consequences). They were also aware of the general attitude, nationwide, towards bodies such as theirs and that the time might come when they would be sacrificed to the God of Economy.

Their monument is contained in their publications and in their archives of documents, reports and photographs, and in the finds that repose in so many museums. It is doubly sad that W.A.T. should be dismantled at a time when, more than ever, the urban and rural landscape is in danger from development and change, and most needs such a watchdog. The sites that the team covered were important, sometimes vital, sites, but all too often they were in and out one jump ahead of the bulldozers and ploughs. Without such groups, we are forced to look more and more to London, to central organisations with inadequate funds and staffing, who care more for the large and the prestigious than for the medieval midden or the Roman rubbish heap that may be of great local importance.

So we say goodbye to W.A.T. and its staff, and wish them well wherever they go and whatever they do. In the rich tapestry of history, theirs are the threads of gold.

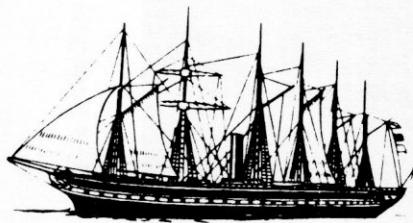
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DR. D. L. (TIM) BAYLEY qualified at Bristol in 1940 and spent most of his working life as a G.P. in Henleaze. He first became active in local history when he was asked to write up the local 1871 Census by Mary Durham of Chew Valley Local History Society.

LARRY CUNNINGHAM is Head of the Social Studies Department at Broadlands School, Keynsham. He co-founded Clutton Local History Group and is particularly interested in developing the use of local history in schools.

Professor A. H. GOMME is Head of the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Keele. He is both a Lecturer in English and an architectural historian, and has written *Jacobean Tragedies* (OUP, 1969).

BRYAN LITTLE is a well-known local and architectural historian. He has written several books on Bristol, Bath, Cheltenham and Exeter. His most recent work is *Norman Architecture in Britain* (Batsford, 1985).



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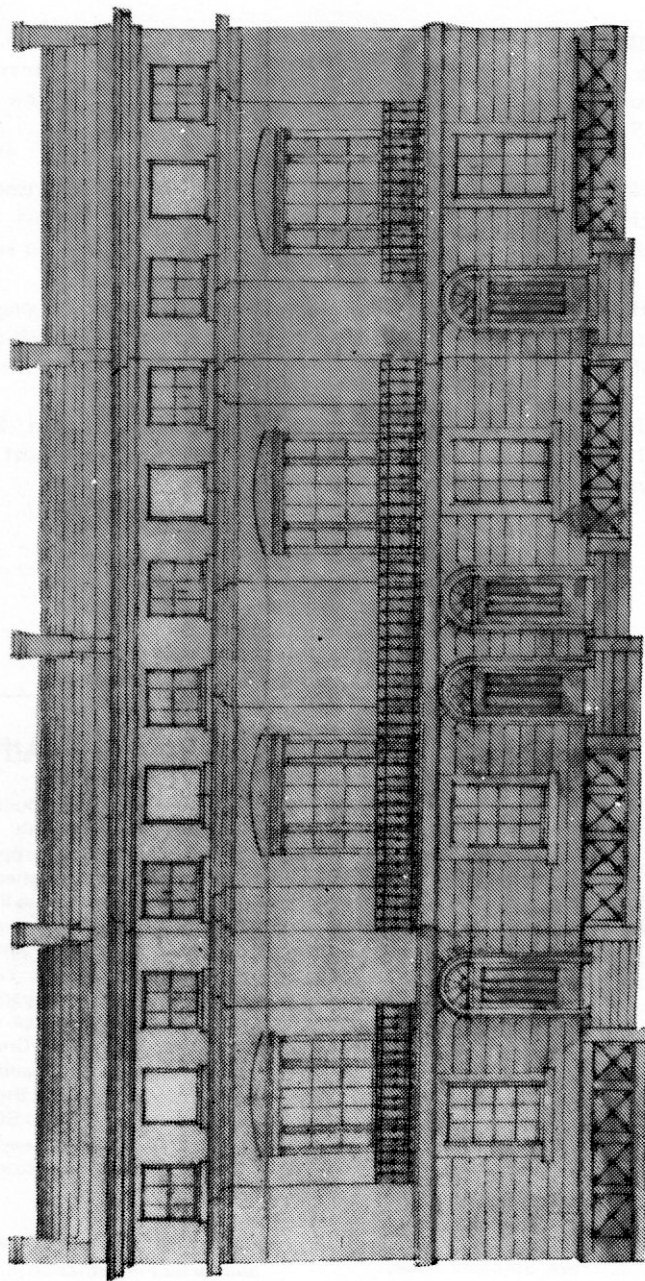
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Drawing of 1 - 4 Kensington Place, Clifton, courtesy of Simon H. Dixon.

A CLIFTON TERRACE AUTHENTICATED

by Andor Gomme & Bryan Little

In *Bristol: an architectural history* we remarked with regard that tantalizingly little is known of Charles Underwood - just enough in fact to show that he was an architect of considerable talent and some individuality who was likely to have been widely employed and of whom one would like to know more.¹ Thanks to the observation and the kindness of Mr. Simon H. Dixon we can now add Kensington Place, Clifton - or at least the main terrace (nos. 1-4) which makes one symmetrical design - to Underwood's oeuvre. Mr. Dixon owns the original building grant for the terrace to which are attached a small plan and a finely drawn and tinted elevation signed "Charles Underwood Architect 10th Sept 1842". Comparison between the drawing and the building itself shows only the smallest changes in the balcony ironwork, a slightly greater recession of the middle two house fronts and the substitution of low stone walls for open, diagonally patterned railings along the pavement. If one looks again at Lansdowne Place (by Foster & Son, 1835) one can see that Underwood has moved towards a rather bolder neo-classicism in which, in the early 1840s he was accompanied by the Fosters (e.g. West Mall and Clifton Vale) as well as by R. S. Pope. The differences indeed are less noteworthy than the very large measure of stylistic sympathy which linked the various architects working in Clifton in the early Victorian years, though Underwood kept up his pure neo-classicism longer than the others: by 1845 the Fosters had gone Italianate in Royal Promenade, Victoria Square, but Underwood's Worcester Terrace dates from the early 1850's and shows no sign of the newer, more opulent manner.

Underwood was not himself a party to the deed drawn up between the developers, Charles Savery and Edward Clark - entrepreneurs familiar to those acquainted with mid-19th century Bristol deeds - and the builder, Joseph Hall, who was required to complete the building of Kensington Place in conformity with the plan and elevation provided. Mr. Dixon suggests that if Underwood's early bankruptcy (of 1821) were still undischarged in 1842 he would be more likely to have been employed by such a firm as Savery and Clark than to have run his own. But much remains to be discovered, and it seems probable that Underwood's name will turn up again among such similar deeds as survive in the Record Office or still in solicitors' offices in the city.

REFERENCE

1. A. Gomme, M. Jenner & B. Little, *Bristol: an architectural history* (London: Lund Humphries for Bristol and West Building Society, 1979).



The late lamented COLONEL BLATHWAYT having been a Magistrate for this City, and also for the County, for many years, and having uniformly shown a deep and practical interest in the welfare of Bath and its Institutions, I hereby recommend, as a just tribute of respect to his memory, that upon the occasion of his Funeral, on FRIDAY NEXT, at ONE O'CLOCK, the SHOPS BE PARTIALLY CLOSED.

JOHN HULBERT,

Mayor.

GUILDHALL, BATH,

16th May, 1871.

COLONEL BLATHWAYT AND DYRHAM

by Barry Williamson

Colonel George William Blathwayt was Squire of Dyrham for 27 years, from 1844 to 1871. His portrait hangs in the Great Hall. He was the model of a Victorian Squire, "a gentleman whom to know was to respect and admire." He was a soldier who fought at Waterloo, sportsman and magistrate. He owned estates and houses at Dyrham and Porlock and a house in the Royal Crescent in Bath.

First the man. For most of his life he never expected to inherit the estate. Writing from his home in Ireland at the age of 41, he said he had dined at Dyrham only twice in his lifetime and he had had no contact with the owners for 33 years. To explain this it is necessary to study the family tree. Squire William III, the grandson of the builder of the house married three times. By his first wife he had four children and the eldest, another William succeeded him in 1787. He married Frances Scott. His sister Penelope eloped to Coldstream in Scotland, when she was 34, with a bankrupt Bristol man Jeremiah Crane. Five years after the marriage a son was born and given the inevitable name William. The boy was left at Dyrham to be brought up by the childless Squire and his wife Frances. Penelope and "old Jerry" went to live in London and Colonel Blathwayt remembered visiting them as a boy.¹ "Jerry used to amuse us with his marvellous stories - I suppose it was by these he got such a footing at Dyrham."

Squire William III's first wife died in 1755 and three years later he married a widow, Elizabeth le Pevre. They had one son named George William. He was the Colonel's father. When he was nearly 70 the Colonel wrote some brief notes about his early life. He was born in 1797 at Langridge on the family estate near Bath. His father was Rector there. One incident he remembered vividly: "It used to be an event in a boy's life when he was put into cloth clothes, or as it used to be termed 'breeched', then the boy used to visit his friends and neighbours who gave him something to put in his pocket, for previous to this dress, boys and girls were dressed alike in white muslin frocks and petticoats. I think this must have happened to me about 1800, for I remember my Grandmother (Pye) who died in 1801 and who was very fond of me would be the first person I should be taken to to show my new clothes....."

The Colonel's family moved to Dyrham Rectory in 1803. It was the time when a French invasion was expected and groups of Volunteers were formed all over the country like the Home Guard in later times. The Colonel remembers the parades at Dyrham. His uncle, the Squire, was Captain but ill health prevented him from taking part: "I well remember my Father on Sunday mornings going out in full regimentals to the weekly drill and then being obliged to go home and change his uniform for his canonicals." In 1806 his father died and the family moved to Egham near London where in the following year he saw the first gas lamps. Regular outings were made on Sundays to Windsor. People used to line up on the Terrace of the Castle to see the King take his evening stroll. "Upon one occasion my three brothers and myself with my Mother, having



Colonel George William Blathwayt (1797 - 1871), by William Salter, with the kind permission of the Courtauld Institute of Art and the National Trust.

taken up a good position to see the Royalties pass, the King stopped and said to Her Majesty, 'Queen, Queen, there are four fine boys' upon which my Mother made a very low (curtsy) and thought herself a proud woman for she long talked about it."

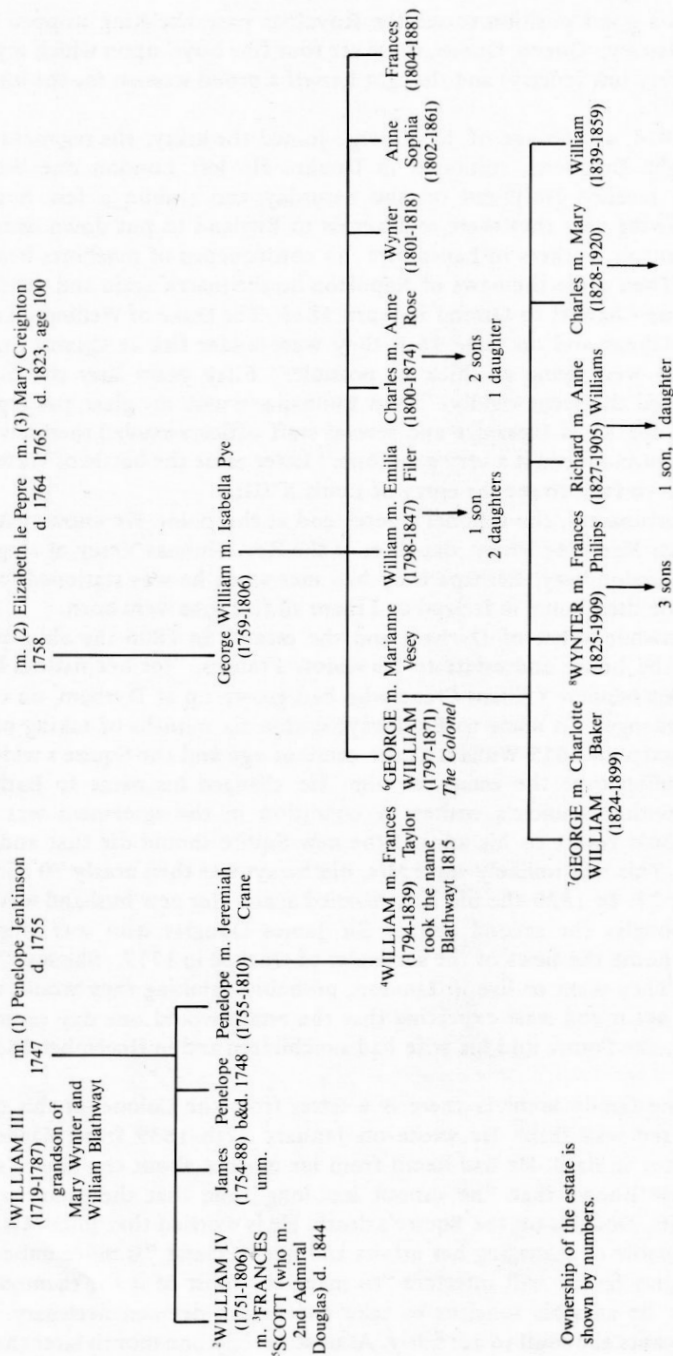
In 1814, at the age of 17, George joined the army. His regiment was the 23rd Light Dragoons, stationed in Dublin. He left London one Wednesday morning, reached Holyhead on the Saturday and Dublin a few hours later. The following year they were sent across to England to put down disturbances among cotton workers in Lancashire "in consequence of machines being introduced." Then came the news of Napoleon on the march again and the Dragoons crossed the Channel to Ostend in April 1815. The Duke of Wellington reviewed them at Ghent and on June 16th they were under fire at Quatre Bras where "the dead were lying as thick as possible." Fifty years later the old Squire remembered the scene vividly: "I saw Buonaparte with my glass, passing in front of his troops. Lord Uxbridge and several staff officers availed themselves of my glass and pronounced it a very good one." Later came the battle of Waterloo and the march to Paris to see the entry of Louis XVIII.

Unfortunately, the Colonel's notes end at this point. We know that in 1822 he married Marianne Vesey, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Vesey of Magherafelt, county Londonderry. Perhaps they had met when he was stationed in Dublin. They made their home in Ireland and there all five sons were born.

Meanwhile, what of Dyrham and the estate? In 1806 the old Squire died and left the house and estate to his widow Frances, "for her natural life" and then to his nephew William Crane who had grown up at Dyrham, on condition that he changed his name to Blathwayt within six months of taking possession of the estate. In 1815 William Crane came of age and the Squire's widow proposed handing over the estate to him. He changed his name to Bathwayt to comply with his uncle's wishes. A condition in the agreement was that the estate would revert to his aunt if the new Squire should die first and without children. This was unlikely since Mrs. Blathwayt was then nearly 70 and William was only 21. In 1820 the old lady married again. Her new husband was Admiral James Douglas the second son of Sir James Douglas who was knighted for carrying home the news of the surrender of Quebec in 1759.. She was 71 and he was 65. They went to live in London, probably thinking they would never see Dyrham again and least expecting that the estate would one day revert to her. However, the Squire and his wife had no children and in December 1838 he fell ill.

In the family archives there is a letter from the Colonel at this time, still with its red wax seal.² He wrote on January 27th 1839 from Magherafelt to his solicitor in Bath. He had heard from his mother about the Squire's delicate health. He knows that "he cannot last long" and that the estate will revert to old Mrs. Douglas on the Squire's death. He is worried that since Mrs. Douglas is not capable of managing her affairs and her husband "is more imbecile still" the Douglas family will interfere "to make the most of it for themselves" and therefore he asks his solicitor to take any action deemed necessary. He adds that he wants above all to act fairly. Almost exactly one month later the Colonel

COLONEL BLATHWAYT'S FAMILY



Ownership of the estate is shown by numbers.

wrote again from Ireland in reply to the news that the Squire had died. He fears that Mrs. Douglas's family will be getting what they can and he hopes that the Squire's widow will speak up for his interests. Then, in what was probably an uncharacteristic outburst he continued: ".....if the old Lady has neither respect for her first husband's family, the love of justice or the fear of brimstone before her eyes" The sentence was never finished. His plan was to settle in the neighbourhood of Dyrham and keep a look-out so that the place was "plundered as little as possible".

What exactly happened thereafter is not clear. The Census book for 1841 shows Mrs. Douglas, age 92 living at Dyrham with her nephew Sir Edward Scott. There is no sign that the Colonel had come to live in the village: in fact he was probably living in his old home, Langridge Rectory. Then in 1844 Mrs. Douglas died. She left the contents of the house to Sir Edward Scott, her nephew. The Colonel threatened to fight him in the Courts. A settlement was eventually reached but the Colonel succeeded to an estate and house much in need of investment and repair. He claimed that no money had been put back into the estate for many years because Mrs. Douglas's family spent it on themselves. Soon after coming to live at Dyrham he borrowed the colossal sum of £50,000 to repair the house and improve the estate. In 1858, 14 years later, he was still paying one third of his annual income as interest on this loan.

The estate was not large by the standards of the time or in relation to the size of house it had to support. A valuation made in 1844 shows that there were 3,484 acres around Dyrham and 3,710 at Porlock. The total annual income from rents was approximately £6,500. As Mark Girouard has written³, Secretary William "left his descendants a bigger and more splendid house than the estate could really carry," although this had the advantage that the house suffered little from alterations and improvements. There was never enough money to spare for great schemes of 'Victorianisation'.

Most of the land at Dyrham and Porlock was let to tenants and the Agent, Edwin Dowding, organised periodic valuations. The estate accounts were kept in minute detail and record, for example in 1858,⁴ that out of a total income of £6,842 the Squire received £2,891 in his personal account with bankers in London, £1,100 went on estate expenses and the enormous sum of £2,232 went as interest on loans taken out to improve the estate. By this time the new Harbour had been built at Porlock Weir and further loans were taken out to pay for the work.

Many estates at this time gained a sudden increase of income from the mining of coal and from industrial development. For example, Sir Greville Smyth at nearby Ashton Court had an average annual income in the 1850's of £55,893 of which approximately one fifth came from royalties on coal mines in Bedminster. There is no evidence that Colonel Blathwayt had similar good fortune although he owned a small amount of property at Lawrence Hill in Bristol. The development of Porlock Weir as a harbour was doubtless an attempt to increase income from trade but it does not seem to have been a success.

Everyone is aware that these were the good old days when income tax was almost non-existent (5d in the £ in 1858); but there were local taxes to be

paid, such as the Poor Rate, fixed by the Overseers in accordance with local needs and Highway Rates. In 1858 the total for all these taxes at Dyrham came to £111.3.2d or less than 3% of the total income from the Dyrham section of the estate⁵. It was hardly any cause for complaint.

The relative position of the estate compared with others in the neighbourhood can be worked out from a national survey made shortly after the Colonel's death. There was a debate in the House of Lords in 1872 on the question of how many people owned the land of England. The popular press claimed that most of it was concentrated in a few hands. The government therefore commissioned a survey from the Local Government Board to settle the issue.⁶ The report took a year to complete and contained many inaccuracies. It included an estimate of the gross annual income from rents of each landowner. Although the report showed that a quarter of a million people owned one acre or more, it also showed that a few men owned vast amounts of land, exactly as the popular press had claimed - 44 people owned more than 100,000 acres each and 15 had an income from land of more than £100,000 a year. Shortly afterwards a Kent landowner, John Bateman issued a revised version of the survey entitled: "The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland".⁷ He claimed he had eliminated most of the mistakes by checking figures with the owners themselves. The Colonel's son is shown as having 2,306 acres in Gloucestershire, 5043 acres in Somerset and a total income of £8,705, fairly small in comparison with other Gloucestershire landowners and minute in comparison with the 198,665 acres and £180,990 income of the Duke of Devonshire.

The visitor to Dyrham today sees only a small proportion of the 60 or so rooms in the house.⁸ They are necessarily 'frozen' so that the works of art can be shown at their best. It is difficult to imagine the house as it must have been in Colonel Blathwayt's time. There were five sons at home in the early days (William the youngest was killed in 1859 when he fell from the cliffs at Porlock where he was trying to capture a baby gull from its nest); a good number of servants, plenty of wine in the cellar, game in the larder and horses in the stables. Fortunately, on three occasions during the Colonel's ownership we know exactly who was in the house. The Census Enumerator's Books for 1851, 1861 and 1871⁹ offer a glimpse into the past. In 1851 the precise jobs of the eight servants are not given but two were born in Ireland and had presumably come across with the family. The 1861 list is more revealing with Patrick Connor still the butler and Margery McCuckon the housekeeper and ten other servants. It is strange that no laundry maid is mentioned. Perhaps one of the housemaids was wrongly named or washerwomen came in from the village. The establishment was small compared with neighbouring Badminton where there were 46 servants, including five footmen and seven housemaids but it reflects the Squire's income and the fact that only five members of the family were then living at home. The employment of only one footman might suggest that the family did not entertain visitors a great deal but Capt. Blathwayt's diary for the 1850's indicates that there were house-parties about twice a month. In addition to the indoor servants there were also four gardeners living in the village, a gamekeeper, a coachman and two grooms.

COLONEL BLATHWAYT AND HIS LANDOWNING NEIGHBOURS 1871

Name	Acres in Glos.	Acres in Somerset	Total acres in all counties	Total Annual Rental Income	House	Present Use	Open?	Indoor Servants in 1871	Education of Owner	Local Affairs
Duke of Beaufort	16,610	—	51,085	£56,226	Badminton	Family	Yes	24	Eton	J.P. D.L. M.P.
Sir G. Smyth	1,432	13,542	14,974	£30,386	Ashton Court	'Functions' Centre	No	14	Eton, Christ Church	J.P. High Sheriff
Earl of Ducie	5,193	—	13,992	£21,971	Tortworth Court	Prison Officers' Centre	No	6	Eton	J.P. Lord Lieut. M.P.
W. S. Gore-Langton	1,523	6,660	8,183	£16,233	Newton Park	College of Further Education	No	9	Eton, Christ Church	J.P. D.L. M.P.
J. H. W. P. Smyth-Pigott	—	6,000	6,000	£12,000	Brockley Court	Nursing Home	No	8	Germany	J.P. D.L.
G. W. Blathwayt	2,306	5,043	7,349	£ 8,705	Dyrham Park	National Trust	Yes	10	Privately	J.P. High Sheriff
G. W. H. Codrington	4,218	—	5,023	£ 7,201	Dodington Park	Offices	No	21	Eton	J.P. High Sheriff
R. Cann-Lippincott	3,554	—	3,554	£ 6,877	Over Court	Demolished	—	8	Eton, Christ Church	
Sir W. Miles	—	4,929	5,484	£ 6,868	Leigh Court	Hospital	No	25	Eton, Trinity	J.P. M.P.

The census taken a few weeks before the Squire died in May 1871 shows little change in the number of servants but there was no housekeeper (perhaps she was temporarily away). Susan Martin, the ladysmaid, was the longest established servant. She had been there since 1857. A wages book¹⁰ gives the annual pay for the female servants at this time, carefully calculated according to length of service:

Susan Martin	:	£16	Ladysmaid
Mary Miller	:	£12	Housemaid
Matilda Knight	:	£11	Housemaid
Elizabeth Drew	:	£10	Housemaid
Hannah Brown	:	£14	Cook
Harriet White	:	£ 9	Kitchen maid
Annie Perkins	:	£10	Dairymaid
Mary Pulsford	:	£ 6	Housemaid

The housekeeper was the lynch-pin of the whole system and at Dyrham she kept a book of Recipes and a book of Remedies. The latter contains cures for many ailments such as bruises and the Bite of a Mad Dog (24 grains of Native Cinnabar, 24 grains of Fictitious Cinnabar and 16 grains of Musk This medicine has been given to Hundreds with Succes; and Sir George Cobb himself has cured Two Persons who had the symptoms of Madnefs on them"). Her partner in the business of running the house was the butler. His duties concerned the supervision of the dining room as well as the contents of the wine cellar (388 bottles in 1871).

It is almost impossible for us now to comprehend the significance of place and position in the servants hierarchy. A vital indicator was the room where a servant ate - traditionally the upper ranks (housekeeper, butler and ladysmaid) were in the housekeeper's room and the lower servants in the Servants' Hall. Plans for Dyrham show that there was a Female Servants' Hall but this may have been a plan only. It was not normal to make another division. Menus at Dyrham were always given in two parts - for the family and for the servants.

Colonel Blathwayt made few alterations to the house but in 1850 he re-organised the kitchen area. There was an increasingly complicated system of separate departments in Victorian servant's quarters and the arrangement at Dyrham is evidence of this. The butler and housekeeper had separate rooms. Traditionally, the Servants' Hall looked onto a courtyard, as at Dyrham and never onto gardens or the entrance front. A major element in the planning of Victorian servants' quarters was that each activity should have a separate room - hence at Dyrham there were the following: a game larder, a china closet, a plate pantry (next to the butler's room for safety), a boot room, a lamp room (increasingly necessary as lamps replaced candles), a scullery and several pantries. The ideal kitchen had a high ceiling, and was not less than 18 feet x 25 feet and faced North or East (North at Dyrham) so as not to catch the strongest sun. It is tempting to think that Colonel Blathwayt's purpose in re-organisation was typically Victorian - to separate the men more definitely from the women. A

Maid's Wing, under the eye of the housekeeper and separate Men's Rooms appear on plans at this time. Mark Girouard has summed up his country house society: "They were enormous, complicated and highly articulated machines for a way of life which seems as remote as the stone age."¹¹

A country house and estate such as Dyrham represented a centre of power and influence. The owner was enabled, by the possession of land, which meant wealth, to exercise power in local affairs or even in national government. Colonel Blathwayt was content to exercise power only at the local level. The formal expression of this came in his work as a magistrate. He was Chairman of the Bench for Weston in Somerset and for Cross Hands in Gloucestershire and a magistrate for Bath. When he took possession of the estate in 1844, no time was lost in arranging that he should become a J.P. as the following letter¹² from the Duke of Beaufort bears witness (written five days after the death of old Mrs Douglas):

Badminton
January 25th 1844.

Dear Sir,

I beg to acquaint you that immediately on being appraised of the Death of Mrs Douglas I wrote to Lord Fitzhardinge (the Lord Lieutenant) requesting him to insert your name in the Commifision of the Peace; and I have this Day received his Answer which I inclose. I take this opportunity of afsuring you how cordially I rejoice in the good Fortune which has befallen you and how much I shall be gratified in pofsefsing you as a Neighbour and as a Colleague in the Magisterial Bench. It would give me great Pleasure also if you would allow me to offer you the Majority in the Royal Gloucestershire Yeomanry which would confer a great Benefit on the Regt. and be hailed, I will venture to say, by the officers as a most auspicious feat for the Corps.

I remain Sir
Yours very truly
Beaufort

The best reminder of his work at Dyrham is the Justice Room (next to the Print Room but not open to visitors). Until 1848 J.P's could hear certain cases at home and many country houses contained a Justice Room for this purpose. They were always, as here, on the servants' side of the house so that the family would not run the risk of meeting offenders. Other local duties involved membership of countless ocmmittees and organisations (Bath Hospital, Dunster Highway Board, Bath Turnpike Trustees etc., etc.)

In national politics Colonel Blathwayt was a staunch Tory and exercised much influence locally. One of the jokes made by an opponent was recorded in the obituaries of him in 1871: "that he was a thorough old Tory of a good sort but so antiquated that when he died he ought to be put into a glass case

and be sent to the British Museum for preservation."¹³ There are many reminders in the family archives of his involvement with West Gloucestershire elections. On one occasion in 1867 the Colonel supported Colonel E. A. Somerset against the Hon. C. P. Berkeley and all agreed that no petitions should be presented after election day claiming excessive use of Refreshment Tickets as bribes to voters. In fact Somerset spent £6,397.8.7d on the election and Berkeley £2,238.12.7d. Colonel Blathwayt's candidate won. Also in 1867 he played a leading part in arranging a banquet in Bristol where it was hoped that Disraeli would speak. He could not attend and Lord Stanley, the Foreign Secretary came instead.

A great deal of time was doubtless taken up with the normal country pursuits of hunting, shooting and fishing. There was a regular supply of game to the house (28 brace of Partridges, Hares and Landrails in September 1846). Unfortunately the Colonel did not keep a diary but his eldest son did, in the early 1850's.¹⁴ He was then in his late twenties and living at home. His laconic entries reflect the normal routine of the family at Dyrham:

- 1852 January 1 Seedy after the Oyster Supper
 2 Stag hounds met at Wick
 3 Carriage to Bath
 4 Took some Phisick, walked through the Park
 5 Gallop in the Park before breakfast: rode to hounds
 at Lansdown but did not hunt
 6 Hunted at Bath Lodge
 7 Drove into Bath
 8 Road to West Kington to see the Hurdle Maker
 9 Rode to Corsham - some snow
 10 Drove into Bath
 11 Walked to Church
 12 Drove to Bath, Paid some Bills, went to the theatre
 13 Very seedy
 14 We all went out Larking in the Vale
 15 Walked about the Place. Drove to Dauntsey to Neild's
 Ball, very good one
 16 Meet at Grittleton, the largest I ever saw
 17 About the place all day, cut down some trees
 18 Took some phisick: went to Church in evening
 19 Walked through the wood to see Alway's sheep
 20 Harriers met at Doynton - very good sport
 21 Could do nothing with Hares
 22 Wet day, did nothing
 23 Harriers met at Tracy Cottage, tried the new horse
 24 Father drove Richard into Bath: went out to shoot a
 red Deer
 25 Evening church
 26 Drove to Bath to meet Richard - tried the grey horse in
 the trap, would not do
 27 Out shooting Red Deer
 28 Rode over to Lansdown. Father and Mother to Bath,
 cut down some trees
 29 Hedging all day: killed 2 of the pigs
 30 Rode to Kington to see Shellard about the Hurdle making:
 Wynter and his party came
 31 Wet day: dreadful stormy night.

In May 1871 the Colonel died. He had been climbing a ladder to reach the top of a wardrobe in the Oak Hall when the ladder slipped and he broke an arm and a leg. He died five days later and the obituaries referred to him as a gentleman "universally respected". The Victorians spared no effort to mourn the dead. The Mayor of Bath recommended that the shops in the city should be closed during the funeral.

It was a different world.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

From Mr. Leslie Clark (77, Thingwall Park, Fishponds, BS16 2AL) who appears in the photograph of the class of 1905/6 of Easton Board School which he sent in to the Evening Post and which was published on May 29, 1985. We then sent him a copy of Avon Past Nos. 9 and 10:

I well remember saying to Mr. Cooke when I was leaving for the last time how much I had loved the school and the various teachers. They were all nice. The last two years I spent with Mr. Willis and in the second year with him I spent my time writing up the songs (in tonic solfah!) on the boards.

I cannot remember Harry Brown, but the lads I do remember well were Dawson, Iles (son of the publican near Easton colliery), Bush, Kyght, Bird, Drew. Most of them grew up with me until leaving at the age of 14 years.

I am now 84 years of age and still cycling, and attending Fishponds Methodist Church at Guinea Lane, Fishponds. We moved to Thingwall Park in December 1965 after bringing up our five children at Thomas Street, St. Paul's. They are all married now, and they have two children each, so that makes ten grandchildren. Most Sundays my wife Violet and I attend our church twice and I go to the Manor Park Hospital on Sunday afternoons to help patients with the singing and find the page for them.

In 1983 I was chosen as the most active pensioner in Bristol and the South West. I had a lovely presentation at the Redcliffe Street offices of the Legal and General Assurance Co., with Mr. Roy Mann (Area Manager) and Mr. Shand (Editor of the *New Observer*), who together thought up this honour. It was a very lovely occasion and one we shall long remember.

From Mr Harold Brown, 14 Clifton Close, Boundstone Road, Farnham, Surrey, GU10 4TP.

I have been in correspondence with Mr Dan Willis and I must say his photographs brought back vivid memories. I cannot recognise any of the boys portrayed in the top photograph, and the staff picture below shows them all several years younger than I remember them: so I imagine it belongs to about 1907-8 rather than 1910.

The school had room only for seven classes. The 'hall' was divided into three by glass partitions, and one of these spaces acted as headmasters' room. Round the hall were five classrooms only - so a staff of seven and headmaster was all that could be accommodated.

The staff I recognise as follows:

Back row, counting from the left: 2, Mr Agar (Standard 3); 3, teacher of Standard 1); 4, Mr Veator, Standard 6; 5, Miss Jordan, Standard 2; 6, Mr. Cook, Standard 4.

Front row: 1, Mr Willis, Standard 7; 3, Mr Slocombe, Head; 6, Mr. Howell, Standard 5.

The others must have been students or visitors (possibly wives).

COAL MINING IN STANTON DREW

by D. L. Bayley

Coal-bearing rock comes to the surface in the parish on a line running from Coalpits field (ST608615) at Bromley, through Stanton Wick (ST612621), to a field known as Riden's (ST608627) slightly to the east of Tarnwell, thence to Old Down (ST612634), and from there across the valley to the Engine Ground (ST644616) to the west of Pensford Hill; then to the west side of the road at Hursley Hill, just south of the now demolished railway bridge (ST618654) and the Wansdyke, before passing out of the parish at Black Rock (ST619658) to the east of Hursley Hill.

Rutter, writing in 1829, says that small lime coal could be found in the parish at the depth of three feet, coal fit for culinary purposes at 23 and a half feet and good hard coal at 44ft 4in.¹

How early coal was worked here is not known. To begin with it was probably dug for purely domestic use, as there would have been no local market as the surrounding villages all had their own coal workings. However, coal was being used for industrial purposes by the seventeenth century, for John Adams of Chelwood House (ST624617) owned a Glass House, sited on land known as the Sand Ground (ST612619) which he rented at Stanton Wick; the Glass House was sufficiently well known by 1658 for Zacarias of Birmingham to buy window glass from it.²

In very early times it is likely that the cost of leasing a mine from a land owner was within the reach of individuals (the landowner took a 'freeshare' (a royalty) of either 1/8th to 1/10th of all coal won). Later on 'adventurers', that is groups of small business men, took out leases and employed men to work the coal. In Stanton Drew it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that richer men began to put money into the 'coalworks': the Gibbs at Bromley (1893-1957) and the Beauchamps of Peasdown St. John at Broadoak (Pensford Colliery) Pit (1909-1958).³

To begin with the only apparatus needed to work the small drift mines or bell pits, apart from picks and shovels, was a tripod of poles and a pulley whereby men could be lowered into the workings and coal raised in wicker baskets. It is likely that this was done by man power or at the most by using horses. The first hint of steam power being used is conveyed by the field name Engine Ground (ST644616) on Pensford Hill; but Riden's mine (ST608627) is known to have had a condensing winding engine of 10 h.p. and a pumping engine of 28 h.p.⁴ Riden's, which opened in 1828 and was abandoned in 1832, when there was an inrush of water in the 'small vein', was financed by a group of 'adventurers' (Rogers, Player, Cox & Fowler) who were ruined by the disaster, as they and their families were too poor to mount a rescue operation.

Judging by the number of ploughed-out spoil heaps to be found in the fields after ploughing there must have been hundreds of small workings in the parish. From the very few miners listed in the census returns of 1851, '71 and '81 it seems that coal mining must have been very much a part-time job and only to have been done when no work on the land was available.

In 1909 a tramway was constructed between Bromley Colliery (ST606618) and Broadoak (Pensford Colliery) Colliery (ST61927) which crossed Stanton Wick Lane (ST611624) by a wooden bridge which burnt down in 1937 (to be replaced by a steel girder bridge). All that now remains of the tramway is a brick bridge at the site of Bromley Colliery, the stone-faced embankment of the bridge in Stanton Wick Lane, and in the fields the double hedges at the side of the lines and small coal-stained embankments where the line crossed the gullies.⁵

In 1908 the Parish Council persuaded John Eaton Coates of Stanton Drew Court to give up land at Penny's (ST618625) near the Vicarage (now Glebe House) so that the lane could be widened to allow coal carts to pass to and from the colliery without the nuisance caused by the scandalous fighting and swearing of the coalmen.

NOTE

This article refers to the parish as it was before 1908. Since this article was completed, further evidence of early coalworkings at Stanton Drew has come to light in the form of a field-name, *Collpyts* 1545 (Somerset Record Society, Vol. 51).

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3. C. G. Down & A. J. Warrington, *The History of the Somerset coalfield* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971)
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MAPS

Donne's Map of 11 Miles around Bristol, 1769

Greenwood's Map of Somerset, 1822

Ordnance Survey, 1st ed., 25", Sheet XII/11, XIX/12, and unnumbered of Stanton Wick

Ordnance Survey, 1:10,000 (1972), Sheet ST66NW

SITES

1. Ploughed-out spoil heaps, shown when fields are ploughed as circles of shale and small coal:

ST 60896308	ST 60926305	ST 60906300	ST 61026280
61516290	61066284	61556280	61626278
61696259	62646260	62616240	62666239

2. Gruffy Ground:

ST 62126290	ST 62306350
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3. Field Names on Tithe Map, 1842:

ST 60506161	<i>Coalpits Ground</i>
61806280	<i>Coalpits Field</i>
61806480	<i>Engine Ground</i>
(unlocated)	<i>Little Coalpits</i>

4. Batches ('heaps') marked on the Tithe Map, 1842; used in the coalfield to denote the site of an abandoned pit:

ST 61106330	<i>Blinman's Batch</i>
614637	<i>Bullin's Batch</i>
618659	<i>Fermy Batch</i>

5. Aerial Photograph (Hancock No. 37, 15, 4, 72);

ST 612623	Many small ploughed out spoil heaps beside tramroad.
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6. Large spoil heaps and some buildings:

ST 606618	Bromley Colliery
619627	Broadoak (Pensford) colliery

ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE HAMLET OF CLUTTON HILL IN THE 19th CENTURY

by L. J. Cunningham

INTRODUCTION

The hamlet of Clutton Hill is situated about 11 miles south-west of Bath and 12 miles south-south-east of Bristol. It is a collection of eight small cottages and one large house that has been converted from three older cottages sited on a triangular piece of land between three minor roads.

The cottages are situated in a rural environment surrounded by three farmsteads and open farmland. This would certainly suggest an agricultural origin for the cottages; labourers' cottages for the adjacent farmsteads. However, first impressions are often misleading, for although the cottages are now in a purely rural environment, this area was, during the late 18th and early 19th centuries the centre of an important industrial area - the North Somerset Coalfield. An industrial past is hinted at on the ordnance survey map of the area. There is a disused railway line running north to south through the village of Clutton as well as a siding from the village to Greyfield. Following this siding on the ground brings one to the disused mine and spoil heap at Greyfield. This suggestion of a local environment so completely different from the very obvious one of the present led me to think more carefully about the cottages and fostered a desire to explore the history of the buildings and their immediate local environment.

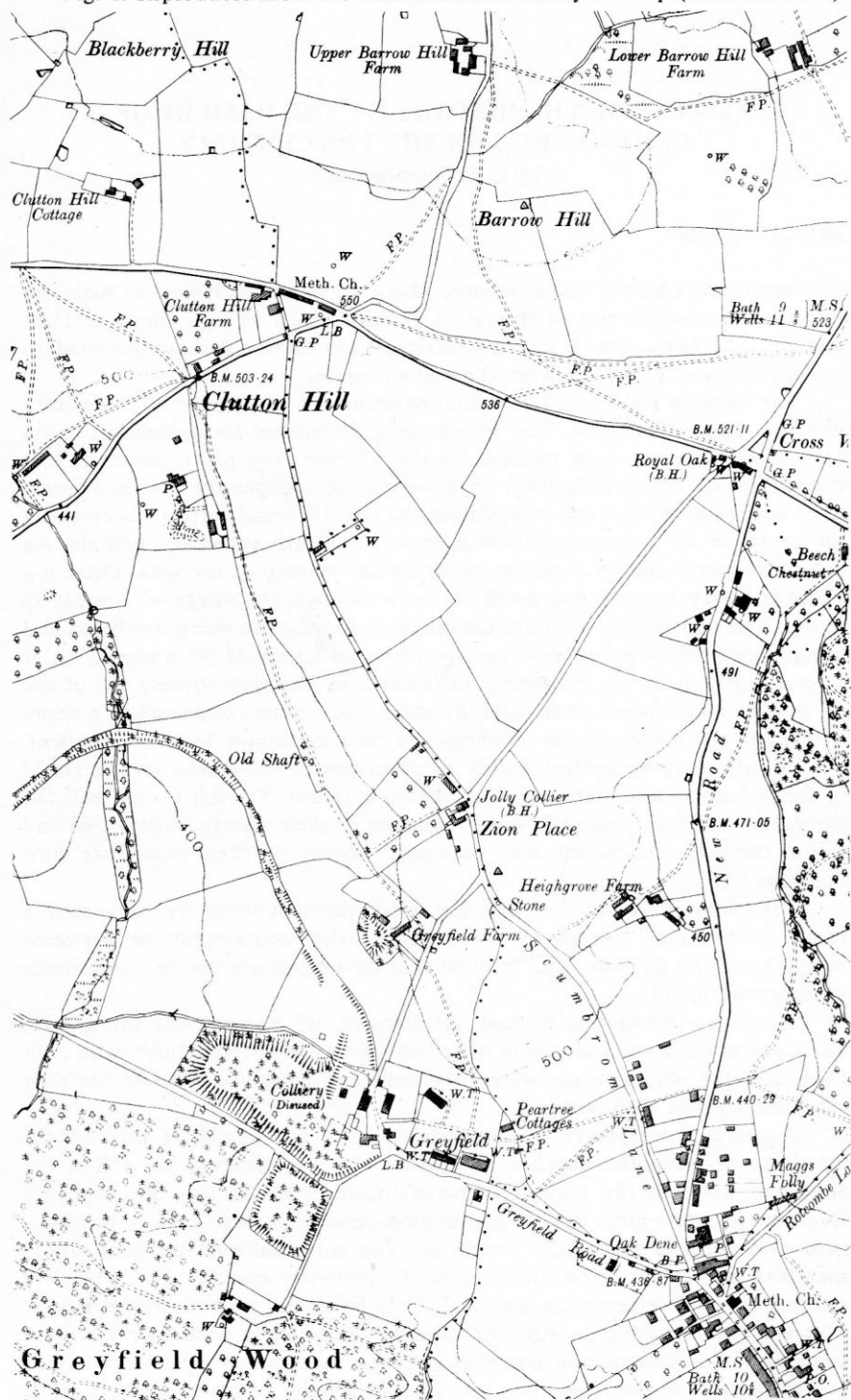
"Houses may be studied purely as structures by those who are interested in the techniques and materials of the building trades. Yet this is only half the story. We ought to place all types of houses in their human background and relate them to the social and economic history of their immediate surroundings." (1)

"In considering past housing, the local historian must try to answer a range of questions, not all of which can equally satisfactorily be answered everywhere, and he must bear in mind that documents are not the sole source of information." (2)

These two quotations became the basis of my research and the specific questions which arose from them were: why were the cottages built, who built them and for whom, when were they built and what was life like for their inhabitants in the 19th century?

Documentary evidence was important. Since the hamlet is sited on the boundary between the parishes of Clutton and Farmborough as well as the boundary between the Earl of Warwick's Clutton Estate and the Popham's Hunstrete Estate a great deal of information came from these sources. However, field evidence was also vitally important. The industrial past hinted at on the map was, inevitably, to be found in the documentary evidence, but much was either omitted or inaccessible and could only be picked up from field evidence. This was particularly true with the location of the early mines in the area. A third source of information was that given by local people who have lived in the cottages or in the immediate area for many years, in many cases providing

Fig. 1. Reproduced from the 1932 Ordnance Survey 6" Map (Sheet XX NW)



direct links with the 19th century through information passed down through the generations.

When were the cottages built?

A precise date for the construction of all the cottages has been impossible to find. Nevertheless, there are several definite pieces of information that help to clarify the situation. The Farmborough Poor Rate Book of 1826 shows that eight cottages existed on the Hill under the ownership of Joseph Cook. During the second half of the 18th century the triangular piece of land upon which the cottages were built was one field of Upper Barrow Hill Farm belonging to the Pophams and then in the tenancy of Joseph Broadrip. In fact the field is called 'The Paddock' in the estate fieldbook. Therefore, it seems probable that the cottages were built between 1759 and 1826.

A datestone on the second cottage from the eastern end of the rank gives 1813 as the date of construction. However it would be tempting fate to suggest that all the cottages were built at this time. The information from the First Edition of the One Inch Ordnance Survey map, dated 1817, tends to support this view. This map certainly shows some buildings at the eastern end of the triangle, but not, apparently, eight cottages in a line as shown on later Ordnance Survey maps. If this map is accurate, then it would suggest that the cottages were built over a period of years between 1813 and 1826.

Why were the cottages built?

As mentioned before the easiest answer would be to suggest that the cottages were two-up, two-down agricultural labourers' cottages attached to adjacent farmsteads, but later census records show that during the middle and second half of the 19th century they were almost exclusively occupied by miners as well as being owned by local people connected with mining. The suggestion that they were miners' cottages is supported by the regional trends in North Somerset at the beginning of the 19th century:

"The increase in the population of the mining parishes of North Somerset was over 50%, much more than could be accounted for by natural increase. The growth in the mining population was not met by a natural population increase, there was a migration into the area and this created a demand for housing." (3)

The first mention of coal mining in the parish of Clutton was in a survey of 1610 which stated - "there be 3 pits near widow Blackers house." (4) At the turn of the century though, there were pits very near the land on which the cottages were built. The aerial photograph shows two disused coalmines in close proximity to the cottages.

The First Edition of the One Inch Ordnance Survey map shows these mines together with a third mine at Heighgrove Farm. All three mines were closed by the time of the 1836 Survey of the Earl of Warwick's Estate (5), but at the time of the construction of the cottages the area was still important for coal production. Indeed the shaft at Hillside Farm was relined in 1795. (6)

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"Speculative cottage building became increasingly common, but as it was not, for the most part, permitted by the landowners, it had to take place off the main parts of the estates." (7)

Therefore the small piece of triangular-shaped land close to these three mines would appear to be ideally suited for the construction of miners' cottages.



Fig. 2. Middle cottages on Clutton Hill

Who built the cottages?

Again there is some degree of speculation, but it is possible to make some positive suggestions.

"There is little indication before 1830 of an attraction of capital into the area from sources that lay outside the north-east part of Somerset." (8)

Therefore it seems highly probable that a local person was responsible for the construction of the cottages. The two main contenders would appear to be the Pophams, who owned the land in 1759, and Joseph Cook, who owned the cottages in 1826, although it is quite possible that a third party was involved.

"Landowners who mined coal on their estates had a financial interest in the adventure quite apart from the mere drawing of royalties." (9)

After 1800 the Pophams had one third of the shares of the Heighgrove Coal Comapny and were therefore, concerned with the financial well-being of the

company. However, in no year between 1806 and 1819 did their share of the profits exceed the royalty income and from 1810 to 1813 they had to stand a loss of over £200 in the working of the company. (10) Therefore it is possible that it was the Pophams, or more precisely John Bush (the manager of the works and the person responsible for the development and running of the industry) who used the tract of land to house the influx of workers into the area for mining activities. It would seem unlikely though, that the Pophams would build new cottages and incur further expense during a period of recession.

The cottages were owned by Joseph Cook in 1826 and were subsequently owned by his son David for the period 1838 to 1848. (11) Both Joseph and

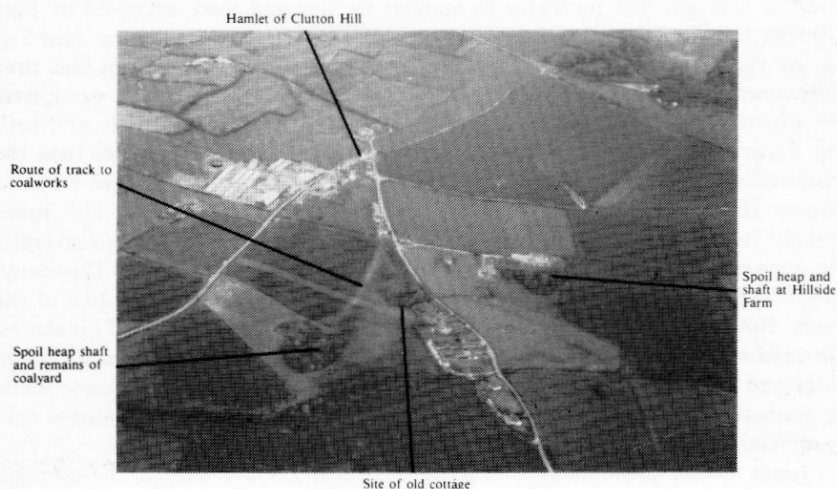


Fig. 3. Aerial view showing disused coalmines

David Cook were tenants of the two farms (today joined as one) on Barrow Hill in 1822: in fact Joseph Cook's tenancy can be traced back to 1809. (12) Hunstrete Estate maps show that the field in which the cottages were built was part of one of these farms. The 1836 Survey of the Earl of Warwick's Estate showed Joseph as the tenant of several cottages which he presumably sub-let. (13) In fact his position is clarified in the 1851 Census where he is described as Steward to the Earl of Warwick. (14) Clearly Joseph Cook held a position of some responsibility within the local society, belonging to that bureaucracy responsible, in practice, for the running of the estates. David Cook was also a prominent local figure. He moved from Upper Barrow Hill farm to take up the tenancy of North End Farm, a farm of some 460 acres, as indicated on the 1838 Tithe Map of Clutton. (15) He was also a major shareholder in the embryonic Greyfield Coal Company which had its origins in 1833. (16)

Despite the possibility that it was the Pophams who were responsible for the construction of the cottages, it is also possible that it was a person from that

growing band of tradesmen, professional men and others of moderate means who, having little connection with coal, indulged in mining speculation. The Cook family certainly fall into this category and could have been responsible for the construction of the cottages. Unfortunately it has been impossible to find conclusive evidence for either possibility.

The Ownership of the Cottages 1838 - 1900

David Cook is first identified as the owner of the cottages in the Farmborough Poor Rate Book in February, 1838. (17) However this entry in the Rate Book is rather unusual. David Cook is noted as the owner and only occupier of the eight cottages. This is a situation which continued until January, 1841 by which time the cottages had increased in number to nine and were occupied by nine different families, though some of the previous occupiers did return. (see Fig. 6). At this time David and Christian Cook had eight children, but did they really need to occupy all the cottages thus evicting the previous occupiers? The Clutton Tithe map of 1838 showed David Cook as the tenant of North End Farm. (18) Presumably the Tithe survey was carried out earlier than the published date (1838) and the Cook family moved from North End Farm to Clutton Hill around the end of 1837 and the beginning of 1838. This move strongly suggests a reversal of fortunes. If so, what was the cause of this reversal? The answer may lie in Cook's involvement with the Greyfield Coal Company. Greyfield had its beginnings in March, 1833, David Cook possessing 25% of the shares. However, by 1843 the Rees-Mogg family had acquired half of his shares. The reason for this was that large sums of money were needed for the engine, shafts and pumps, a call of £1,000 per share being made. Cook became liable for gradually increasing debts and when he died in 1848 the Rees-Moggs held his remaining shares as trustees. (19)

Jonas Cook, presumably a relative of David Cook's, owned the cottages for the period 1848 to 1861, but the cottages did not remain within the family for long. (20) An indenture dated 28th March, 1853 between Jonas Cook (Manager of Bishop Sutton Old Colliery) and Richard Lewis (Brewer) stated 'tenements or dwelling houses, garden, hereditaments and premises granted and conveyed by said Jonas Cook unto the use of Richard Lewis for ever subject to a proviso that the said indenture would be void upon payment of the sum of £300 together with the interest at the rate of £5 per centum per annum.' (21) Richard Lewis was also involved in mining. On 17th May, 1853, he, Charles Holway and the Rees-Moggs acquired Bishop Sutton Old and New pits. (22) This arrangement came to an end on 27th March, 1861 when Francis Beacham contracted and agreed for the absolute purchase of the cottages. He paid £300 to Richard Lewis and £120 to Jonas Cook while Jonas Cook paid the interest due to Richard Lewis. (23) Francis Beacham only held the cottages for the short period before his death on 4th December, 1862, but the history of the hamlet in the latter half of the 19th century is dominated by the Beacham family. Francis Beacham was an important character of the time. He was a coal agent at the Fry's Bottom Colliery, just to the north of Clutton, and his sons held

similarly important positions - Reuben was the manager of the works, George was the bailiff and Hezekiah was the colliery engine driver. (24) Their positions at the colliery suggest that the family was reasonably prosperous and the acquisition of the cottages was probably viewed as a means of increasing prosperity. Francis Beacham and Jonas Cook were also linked socially; both were Methodist preachers (25) and two of Beacham's daughters married into the Cook family. (26) Francis Beacham's will divided the cottages into the ownership of his children. (27) This effectively sub-divided the ownership for the first time and, as the individual members died towards the end of the 19th century, the cottages were sold and separate families begin to appear in the deeds. This did not mean the total end of links with the Beachams, for as recently as the 1950's one tenant was still collecting rent for a distant relative of Francis Beacham living in Bristol and in 1963 there was an extensive search for relatives when a builder wanted to acquire the old Methodist chapel. (28) However back in the 19th century the Beachams not only owned the cottages, but lived in them as well. The 1838 Tithe map of Clutton had Francis and Ann Beacham living in Poachers Pocket, the buildings immediately opposite Fry's Bottom Colliery. (29) The 1871 Census has his widow, sons Reuben and George, daughter Sarah and grandson Austin Rogers all living at Poachers Pocket. However, Hezekiah, his wife Mary Ann and their children were living on Clutton Hill. (30) By 1881 the remainder of the family had moved into cottages on Clutton Hill. (31). So by the latter part of the 19th century, the Beacham family not only owned the property but had also established something of a family seat. The move away from Poachers Pocket coincides with the run-down of the mine. Work was suspended in 1887 and it was closed in July 1895. (32) Reuben Beacham, described in 1871 (33) as the Manager of the Coalworks, became the owner of a stone quarry works in 1881. (34) It is interesting to compare the Beachams of Clutton Hill with the Beauchamp family, who became the most powerful and influential group of the Somerset Coalfield. William Beacham was the manager of the Vobster Colliery in 1866. Two years later he initiated the Radstock Coal Company. In 1876 he publicly changed his name to William Beacham Beauchamp. He died in 1894 and his sons Frank and Louis went on to acquire many collieries in the Somerset Coalfield. Most of the county's pits came into the hand of one or more members of the family. (35) The link is further reinforced by the fact that Reuben Beacham also changed his name to Beauchamp. The Beauchamp family went on to prosper whereas the Beachams of Clutton Hill did not. Was this simply related to the fact that they were connected with a mine which declined in the latter part of the 19th century, while the Beauchamp family were connected with more prosperous mines?

SOCIAL CONDITIONS ON CLUTTON HILL DURING THE 19th CENTURY

The buildings

"Norms of adequacy have so radically changed in the last hundred years. The ordinary house of the past would, by our standards, be overcrowded part of the

time, very often damp, poorly lit, badly ventilated and underheated in winter.” (36)

“One witness, who persistently in his evidence to the 1885 Commission talked about ‘good’ and ‘bad’ cottages, was asked by Lord Salisbury to describe his idea of a ‘good’ cottage. He did not put his sights too high. A ‘good’ cottage, he said, should have walls, roof and windows that could keep out the weather, access to clean water and a sound floor.” (37)

Both of these quotations give clear indications as to the standard of housing for most of the population. However, it is inevitable that there were variations around the norm. Standards of housing are likely to be affected by the intentions of the person responsible for their construction. If the cottages were built in response to some transitory economic activity, then their construction would have been with the cheapest possible materials. For example, in Flitwick, Dundee one builder constructed a series of cottages consisting of clay walls and turf roofs purely to create house owners who could vote. Once the election was over they were allowed to fall into disrepair. (38) However if a local entrepreneur was attempting to attract labour into an area for an economic activity which he perceived to have a good future he would be more inclined to provide a better standard of housing. As has been noted before, this was certainly the case in North Somerset in the early decades of the 19th century as the Somerset Coalfield was developing towards its peak.

There are several features of the cottages on Clutton Hill which suggest that they qualify as ‘good’ cottages. They are, in the main, two-up and two-down buildings with the occasional attic area which served as a third bedroom. The walls are made of local White Lias stone and are over 20” thick. This is a substantial width when one considers that many of the cheaply constructed cottages only had walls of some 4 - 6” thickness. (39) A wall of that thickness is no guarantee to keep out damp but in comparison to some of the cottages built at the time it must have seemed highly effective. The walls were also plastered, using cow hair as a key, on the inside, a feature that certainly would not have been found in ‘bad’ cottages. Also the mere fact that the cottages are still standing testifies to their good construction.

Local Pennant Sandstone was used for flagstones on the ground floor, which was dry. In fact the height of the local watertable is some six feet below ground level. This can be seen quite clearly in the cellars, another ‘good’ feature, of the middle cottages. Under exceptionally wet conditions the cellar floors are under several inches of water, but the ground floor above remains dry. The cottages are built on a slight rise above the main plateau level at the foot of Blackberry Hill. Fields on the plateau surface do have surface water in very wet conditions. It would appear that the builders, either by luck or judgement, constructed the cottages on a localised dry point site.

Good cottages had a well in the garden or at least one shared by a group of houses. (40) Access to fresh water was good. On the First Edition of the 6” Ordnance Survey map two wells are marked in close proximity to the cottages. In fact one of these is still open in the old wash-house next to one of the middle

cottages. There were several wash-houses, roughly one for every three cottages. Piped internal water supply did not come to the cottages until the early 1960's. One resident remembers quite clearly the earlier situation when she had to walk to the end of the terrace to obtain all the water supplies, a practice that had been going on since the cottages were built. (41) Inside the cottages the focal point was the living area downstairs. This contained a small hearth with tiny ovens adjacent and this would have been the main source of heat and hot water. Unusually for that time there was an open hearth in one of the upstairs bedrooms, certainly another 'good' feature of the cottages.

There are, also, substantial gardens which would have enabled the occupants to grow vegetables to supplement their meagre incomes. In the gardens each cottage had its outside privy which meant that there was always adequate manure for the gardens. The outside toilets only ceased to be used in the last ten years.

It is only since the Second World War that improvement grants have existed to induce change. In many ways it is only in the recent past that the buildings have radically altered, so that the older inhabitants still living in the hamlet, although not miners, can probably remember an existence very similar to their predecessors in the 19th century.

The function of some of the buildings has not remained constant. At least two sets of adjacent cottages had joining doors, indicating that during the past some families were able to afford an extension. These doors are now hidden under more recent plaster. (42) In Francis Beacham's will of 1861 the settlement was described as "those nine tenements or dwelling houses with the stable, wagon house, brewhouse or chapel and garden." (43) Since then there has been an increase in the number of cottages: before the joining of three cottages to make one larger property, there were eleven. In fact the pattern of habitation must have been quite complex; additions were made, some cottages were joined together and other cottages were adapted to serve different purposes. Honey-suckle Cottage was once a stable and the eastern extension of Rebel's Retreat was a Methodist chapel.

A Methodist chapel is marked on the First Edition of the 6" Ordnance Survey map. Visiting the cottages today the chapel is totally inconspicuous as it is now part of a larger dwelling house. But even during the 19th and early 20th century, when the Methodist society was at its height, an outsider would have had great difficulty in identifying the chapel. It was simply one room on top of a building of which the ground floor served as a storeroom.

Arther Heal has suggested that the building was never intended as a dwelling house, but was, initially, a malthouse, thus supporting the evidence from Francis Beacham's will, where it is described as a brewhouse or a chapel. (44,45). It is quite possible that the brewhouse originated from Richard Lewis' involvement with the settlement. However, by 1856 the chapel was included in the Midsomer Norton circuit. (46) Jonas Cook and Francis Beacham, both being Methodist preachers and owners of the property at various times, could well have been the co-founders of the chapel.

During the latter half of the 19th century the society grew in importance

and numbered among its members several prominent local inhabitants, such as Francis Kell of Clutton Hill Farm, George Bull of the Hunter's Rest Inn, George Heal of Upper Barrow Hill Farm, Eligah Dagger of Brickyard Farm and Austin James, the carpenter at Rose Cottage. In 1890 Samuel Treasure and George Brimble founded a Sunday school and by 1912 it had become impossible for the chapel to hold all the children and parents on anniversary occasions, so the service was held in the wagon shed of Clutton Hill Farm. Indeed the registers at this time contained over 40 names. Although it was important for many people on Clutton Hill, it was never licensed and therefore no marriage services ever took place there. (47)

Nevertheless the chapel had clearly been of great importance within local society: Francis Beacham's will stated "the room then used as a place of worship by and for the Wesleyan Methodists ... for their sole use so long as a class or congregation should meet there, but if a meeting could not be gathered then it should be equally divided among his children or their heirs." (48) The building remained a chapel until the early 1960's when it was acquired by Leslie Kew who was renovating the three cottages that became "Rebel's Retreat." (49)

The people

Inevitably names have appeared throughout this account. Searches within the parish registers and census returns have provided vast amounts of quantitative data - dates of birth, death, marriage, baptism, size of family and occupation - which illuminate social conditions during the 19th century. However, the qualitative aspects are very difficult to research, the main source being older members of the local community who have a clear recollection of their early life as well as information passed down from earlier generations.

A look at the family history of David Cook shows a pattern that must have been very common during the early 19th century. (see Fig 4) Cottages had to accommodate parents, countless short-lived infants and perhaps three

Fig. 4. The history of the Cook family

Name		Date of birth	Date of death	Age at death
David Cook	H	1798	1848	50
Christian Cook	W	1799	1861	60
Mary	C	1819	1832	13
Joseph	C	1820		
Elizabeth	C	1822		
David	C	1824	1824	6m
Elizabeth Anna	C	1826	1845	19
Mary	C	1832	1840	8
David	C	1834		
Alfred	C	1836	1837	8m
Maria	C	1838	1838	7m
H - Husband	W - Wife		C - Child	Source Parish registers (50)

or four surviving children, as shown by David Cook's family, where six of his nine children died young.

Parents must have been for centuries used to the idea of conceiving many children knowing full well that many of them would die. This practice was not to change overnight and during the 19th century, due to better medical treatment, a greater number of children survived and this led to the existence of larger families. In many ways it was an advantage to have large families, because, although there were more mouths to feed, there were also more hands to go out and earn wages. Compulsory education did not come until much later.

Looking at the census data in Fig. 5 and the information in Fig. 4 it is clear that it was not uncommon for a woman to marry and then spend most of her subsequent life pregnant and/or looking after several young children. Such large families must have put considerable strain on family budgets when work was hard to find. They must have also resulted in cramped conditions in the cottages which were housing parents, growing children and young adults, though, clearly William Sheppard was none too concerned by this in 1871 as he felt happy enough to install a servant within the household.(51)

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 stated "all relief to able bodied persons or to their families, other than in well regulated workhouses, shall be declared unlawful and shall cease." (52) Victorian times can be described as the age of the workhouse. Until 1834 the population had looked upon workhouses as asylums or refuges for the needy, sick and infirm. The new act seemed to transform them into houses of correction in which the unemployed and able bodied paupers would be treated as criminals. Local inhabitants would try to avoid the indignity and humiliation of going to the Clutton Union Workhouse. This certainly explains a situation that we would find difficult to accept today. The 1881 Census shows that Joseph Gullick was still a coal miner at the age of 74.(53)

The Poor Law was financed by taxation of every inhabitant in the parish of sums which varied with demand. This can be seen quite clearly by looking at David Cook's contributions during the year of 1840 when he inhabited all the cottages. In January he paid 10s, in April £1, in July 15s and in October 10s. The inhabitants were not always in a position to pay the rate. For example in January and April, 1841 not one of the nine inhabitants were able to pay, but by May, 1845 five of those same inhabitants had no arrears. (54) It would seem that there was some flexibility as these inhabitants were not immediately taken to the workhouse.

Both the 1871 and 1881 Census Returns show the occupations of the inhabitants. They were almost exclusively connected with coal mining: in 1871 it was six out of seven families and in 1881 seven out of nine. Both Greyfield and Fry's Bottom Collieries were active at this time and likely that most of these mining families worked in these pits.

An interesting feature of cottage life was transitory occupation. (see Fig. 6) Some families did live in the cottages for long periods of time, most notably George Brice, James Bull and Joseph Purnell, all living there between 1841 and 1861, but if one compares the list of inhabitants for 1861 and 1862 only Joseph

Fig. 5. Inhabitants of the cottages on Clutton Hill

1871 CENSUS					
Inhabitants		Age	Occupation		
?	Hall	H 24	Coal Miner		
Mary Ann	Hall	W 26			
William		C 5			
Susan		C 2			
Uninhabited					
William Sheppard	H 32	Butcher			
Mary Sheppard	W 27				
George	C 9				
Adelaide	C 7				
Elizabeth	C 3				
Rhoda	10m	Servant			
Angie Tibcaule	O 13				
Hezekiah Beacham	H 53	Colliery Engine Driver			
Mary Ann Beacham	W 49				
Jane	C 13				
Augusta	C 10				
Mark	C 7				
Loiisa	C 4				
Elizabeth	C 3m				
William Whiting	H 66				Coal Miner
Fanny Whiting	W 67				
Samuel Baker	H 25	Coal miner			
Anna Baker	W 26				
Agnes	C 3				
William	C 1				
Aron Tucker	H 45				
Charlotte Tucker	W 40				
David	C 13				
Marthe	C 11				
Alice	C 9				
Emma	C 6				
Thomas	C 4				
Susan	C 2				
Rhoda	C 5m				
Uninhabited					
John Beacham	H 33				Coal Miner
Marie Beacham	W 32				
Annie	C 11				
Herbert	C 9				
Ada	C 6				
Elizabeth	C 4				
Charles	C 2				

1881 CENSUS							
Inhabitants		Age	Occupation				
Joseph Gullick	H 74	Coal Miner					
Ann Gullick	W 76						
John Brimble	H 54	Coal Miner					
Mary Ann Brimble	W 55						
Charles	C 20	Coal Miner					
Joel	C 13						
Rueben Ceauchamp	C 53	Stone Quarry Owner					
Ann Beacham	W 86						
Maria Brimble	O 15	Servant					
Hezekiah Beacham	H 63						
Mary Ann Beacham	W 59	Engine Driver					
Mark	C 17						
Louisa	C 14						
Charles Payne	H 47	Agri. labourer					
Eliza Payne	W 47						
Samuel	C 14	Labourer					
George	C 11						
Albert	C 7						
Julia	C 4						
Joseph Curtis	H 38	Coal Miner					
Ann Curtis	W 38						
Joseph	C 11						
James	C 9						
Gomes	C 7						
Kate	C 5						
Caleb	C 3						
Evan	C 1						
Henry Carter	H 24				Coal Miner		
Elizabeth Carter	W 23						
Robert	C 7						
Matilda	C 4						
Robert Perry	H 60	Coal Merchant					
Mercy Perry	W 63						
George Perry	O 2						
Henry Brimble	H 25	Engine Driver					
Jane Brimble	W 24						
Alice	C 4						
Francis	C 2						

H—Husband W—Wife C—Child O—Other

Fig 6. Patterns of Occupation on Clutton Hill

1826	1838-1840	1841	1845	1861	1862	1871	1881
1 George Coombs		1 George Brice	1 George Brice	1 George Brice	1 John Beacham	1 James Hall	1 Joseph Gullick
2 Mrs. Creese		2 James Bull	2 James Bull	2 James Bull	2 Moses Blacker	2 un-inhabited	2 John Brimble
3 Robert Perry		3 Jabes Cook	3 William Coombs	3 Joseph Purnell	3 Martha Ball	3 William Sheppard	3 Reuben Beacham
4 Edward Portrey	David Cook	4 George Coombs	4 Charles Mercfield	4 Ann Emery	4 James Sheppard	4 Hezekiah Beacham	4 Hezekiah Beacham
5 Joseph Purnell		5 Charles Mercfield	5 Joseph Purnell	5 Jacob Parfitt	5 un-inhabited	5 William Whiting	5 Charles Payne
6 Samuel Rogers		6 Thomas Palmer	6 William Whiting	6 ? Cleaves	6 Joseph Purnell	6 Aron Tucker	6 Joseph Curtis
7 George Windmill		7 Joseph Purnell	7 un-inhabited	7 un-inhabited	7 Richard Emery	7 Samuel Baker	7 Henry Carter
8 James Wall		8 William Whiting	8 un-inhabited	8 un-inhabited	8 Mrs. Emery	8 un-inhabited	8 Robert Perry
		9 William Walter	9 un-inhabited	9 un-inhabited	9 Henry Coombs	9 John Beacham	9 Henry Brimble

Sources: Farmborough Poors Rate Book 1826-1861
Francis Beachem's Will 1862
Census Returns 1871 and 1881

Purnell appears on both lists. Indeed this short stay pattern continued into the 20th century, as Arthur Heal has recalled. (55) The two local mines, Greyfield and Fry's Bottom, would, through the natural course of events, have gone through lean periods when men were laid off in large numbers. Families would move to more prosperous areas seeking employment and thus avoid entering the workhouse. Indeed the period 1845 - 1871 appears to have been something of a depression, for on each of the dates when information is available some of the cottages were empty.

CONCLUSION

This account is an incomplete history of the settlement on Clutton Hill. It is incomplete because documentary evidence represents only a fraction of the historical past. Many of our actions go unrecorded and at best can only be inferred. (56) However, it has been possible to shed some light on the origins of the settlement and the social and economic conditions during the 19th century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Information from the Farmborough Poor Rate Book and Land Tax Assessments, the Clutton tithe map, and the 1759 map of the Houndstreet Estate, is reproduced with the permission of the Somerset Record Office.

The writer is grateful to the rectors of Farmborough and Clutton Parish churches for access to the parish registers.

I would like to thank Mr. T. Bowler and Mrs. H. Fraser for reading the article and their helpful comments.

Special praise goes to my wife, Shirley, who always encouraged me to complete the article.

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1. A series of lectures/talks during the winter months. The Group has been fortunate to have been able to include local as well as guest speakers.
2. A number of local walks as well as trips further afield, such as Morwellham Quay in Devon.
3. Research into the history of Clutton's past. In particular the Group has acquired a series of parish surveys/maps dating from the 17th Century.
4. Publication of research carried out by members. So far the Group has published *A brief history of coal mining in Clutton* and *A brief history of the Methodist society on Clutton Hill*.

If you are interested in the activities of Clutton Local History Group please contact:

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HISTORIC LANDSCAPE STUDY OF THE MANOR OF ENGLISHCOMBE, edited by Mary Stacey and Rob Iles. (iv) 48pp; 14 figs. Bristol: Planning Dept., Avon County Council, 1983. 75p.

This paper, 48 pages long, records an intensive survey of Englishcombe, south west of Bath, by five people employed in a Manpower Services Commission scheme from May to August 1982 for the Duchy of Cornwall, who own most of the land in the area. As the introduction says, the main aim of the survey was to produce management proposals for the archaeological sites, hedgerows and woodlands, so it is in every sense an historic landscape survey rather than a parish survey or a local history.

There are six chapters and six appendices. The methodology employed is described and examples of record cards given. Earthworks were surveyed and hedges recorded in detail. Englishcombe was selected as a 'typical parish' and the Archaeology and History section shows this to be so, except for the Wansdyke. Good surveys are included of Culverhay Castle at Englishcombe and a deserted farm at Barrow.

Being a rural parish, much attention is given to the hedges and small areas of woodland. Unlike the areas of parliamentary enclosure, but like most of England, fields and hedges were created over a long period at Englishcombe and enclosure of open fields went on from the 16th to 18th centuries. The hedges study was thus of great interest, since here was an opportunity to test Max Hooper's hedge-dating hypothesis. It is interesting, following detailed analysis, to see that the complement of species in hedges is more related to geology, climate, aspect and above all man's management, than age. A known medieval hedge had 13 species, while hedges of 1840 had 9!

Since this is meant to be a management report, considerable attention has been paid to this part. The archaeological sites were graded and a sensible basis devised ranging from sites of national importance (Grade I) to Grade IV, of "minor historical significance". It is to be hoped that the Department of the Environment (and their successors) who helped to set up the survey will back this grading and that the Duchy, who presumably will take note of the sites on their land, will heed the significance of some of the sites. Wansdyke is here relatively well-preserved, but elsewhere along its length it is largely obliterated. The same grading ideas are applied to hedges. It is pleasing to note that for woodlands the Duchy have started to be actively coppiced again.

In conclusion, this is a very useful piece of work. To anyone living in Englishcombe, it should be of interest; it is of importance to those studying the archaeology, history and nature conservation in the area. It is a model of both an historical landscape survey and also a management document for a large estate. It is a pity that such surveys are not continuous for all areas so that the rich historical and biological heritage which this country possesses is recorded, assessed and conserved in time. In too many areas and too many cases, something important is wrecked forever before such a survey is even contemplated. All parties involved in its compilation are to be congratulated; hopefully more of such work will be undertaken in Avon.

M. Aston

THE VOLUNTARY MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS OF BRISTOL, by Professor C. Bruce Perry. 22pp. (Local History Pamphlets, 56). Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, The University of Bristol, 1984. 90p. In these days of publicly funded health services it is easy to forget that before the first world war, and indeed to quite a substantial extent before the inauguration of the National Health Service in 1948, hospital provision was almost entirely a matter of individual initiative and of voluntary effort and subscriptions.

The title of the latest in the well-known series of Local History Pamphlets conceals the fact that it is a comprehensive, if necessarily rapid, historical survey of Bristol hospitals in general from the birth in 1731 of the Bristol Royal Infirmary, the second provincial voluntary hospital in England, with its motto "Charity Universal", to the first world war. The story of voluntary hospitals in particular is continued through the inauguration of the National Health Service in 1948 to the foundation of St. Peter's Hospice, proof of the continuing usefulness of voluntary effort, in 1973, omitting only the non-voluntary 20th century foundations, such as Southmead, Brentry, Frenchay and Barrow.

Between the two 18th century foundations and the late flowering of the Cossham Memorial Hospital in 1907 came a flood of foundations born of 19th century philanthropy and the advances of medical science: the Eye Hospital was born as the Institute for the Cure of Diseases of the Eye among the Poor in 1810, the Bristol General Hospital appeared in 1932, the Homoeopathic Dispensary, later the Homoeopathic Hospital, in 1852, the Children's Hospital, under the title of the Dispensary for Sick Children and Women, in 1864, and the Home for Crippled Children, later to become Winford Orthopaedic Hospital, in 1876. To this list must be added half a dozen dispensaries and other institutions which have for the most part failed to survive.

The main features of the voluntary hospitals were that they were entirely dependent on gifts and legacies, they were administered by Governors appointed by the subscribers, the medical staff were honorary and received no salary and the patients were not required to pay fees. All seem to have depended greatly on the drive and enthusiasm of a few individuals and most seem to have been chronically in debt. While the voluntary hospitals no doubt gave opportunities for patronage and power over others which are perhaps inseparable from private charity, most of the subscribers and doctors were certainly motivated, like the founders of the B.R.I., by the feeling that "many sick persons languish and die miserably for want of necessities ... for want of accommodation and proper medicine ... and (by the desire) as far as in us lies to find some remedy for this great misery of our poor neighbours", and they remain a monument to the better side of human nature.

The author of this pamphlet, Professor Bruce Perry, Emeritus Professor of Medicine at the University of Bristol, is noted for a number of studies of Bristol medical history including *The Bristol Royal Infirmary, 1904 - 1974*, published in 1981. He is to be congratulated on producing in so brief a compass so readable, interesting and informative a survey of so large and so important a subject.

B. P. Jones

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